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REPORT OF THE GREEK UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

UPON

**THE ATROCITIES AND DEVASTATIONS
COMMITTED BY THE BULGARIANS IN
EASTERN MACEDONIA**

**PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN HELLENIC SOCIETY
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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY
CARROLL N. BROWN, PH.D.
The College of the City of New York

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REPORT OF THE GREEK UNIVERSITY
COMMISSION UPON THE ATROCITIES
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BY THE BULGARIANS IN EAST-
ERN MACEDONIA

MR. PRESIDENT:

The Senate of the University having charged us with the duty of traveling over Eastern Macedonia and verifying the crimes committed by the Bulgarians in this province, which they had invaded, we set out for Salonika on the 12/25 of the last month. We visited the different important centers of Eastern Macedonia, Cavalla, Doxato, Drama and Seres; we saw with our own eyes the devastation there committed, and by the testimony of competent witnesses, we verified the vexations of every sort, the cases of death from starvation and maltreatment, the murders and other criminal acts that the Bulgarians have perpetrated against the inhabitants left in these regions, as well as against the Greeks that were deported into Bulgaria.

We have gathered our testimony partly from the lips of the victims themselves, of whom we have, in every case, chosen the representatives that were most worthy of credence among the Greek, Turk, or other populations, and partly from the official authorities and documents.

During our entire investigation we had the opportunity to travel and coöperate with certain individuals who had gone there with the same purpose—particularly with Messrs. H. Pernot, Professor at the Sorbonne; H. E. Russell, Vice-Consul of the United States at Salonika; Lieut. H. M. Gray, Military Attaché of the American Embassy at Athens; C. S. Butler, special cor-

respondent of the *Daily Mail*, and J. Dormer, correspondent of the *Continental Daily Mail*. In support of the charges made in this report, we appeal to the testimony of these gentlemen, who are not only worthy of faith, but are also entirely free from all prejudice of a national or political nature.

In our haste to bring before the eyes of the public the result of our investigations, we content ourselves with listing the depositions and the official documents which we would have liked to add to this report. These documents are as follows, and the numbers in parenthesis, throughout the text, refer to them.

1. Deposition of Eug. Jordanou, Mayor of Cavalla.
2. Deposition of Stavro K. Stavrou, Municipal Councillor of Cavalla, who continued to hold office for a time, in spite of the Bulgarian occupation.
3. Deposition of Mrs. Helen Oikiadou, President of the Orphan Asylum for Greeks, Turks and Jews in Cavalla, which was founded in April, 1917, to shelter and assist the orphans of Cavalla who had been rendered homeless.
4. Deposition of Mehmet Ali Bey, Municipal Councillor of Cavalla, who was left in office throughout the duration of the Bulgarian occupation.
5. Deposition of Panayoti Sinoka, a hostage recently released.
6. Deposition of G. Vardaka, foreman in a tobacco factory of Cavalla, a hostage, only lately repatriated.
7. Deposition of G. Gounaris, an employee of the National Bank of Greece, and cousin of the former Prime Minister, who was unable to leave Cavalla after the invasion of the Bulgarians.
8. Deposition of J. Hadjiyoannou, a physician of Cavalla, who remained in the city.

9. Deposition of E. Djimourtos, City Physician of Cavalla, who remained in the city.
10. Depositions of M. Oeconomos, P. Christodoulos and Nicolas Papanastasiou, priests, who were taken as hostages and have recently been repatriated.
11. Deposition of a Mr. Triandaphyllides, physician in Cavalla, who stayed in the city.
12. Deposition of J. Stylianides, State Engineer at Cavalla, deported as a hostage.
13. Deposition of Mrs. Euphrosyne Bassiou, 70 years old, who remained at Cavalla.
14. Deposition of Miss A. N., 18 years of age, who remained at Cavalla.
15. Deposition of Prodromos Vasiliou, aged 23 years, a repatriated hostage.
16. Report of the three physicians, who stayed in Cavalla, Doctors Djimourtos, Hadjiyoannou and Triandaphyllides, on the deaths resulting from starvation and sickness during the Bulgarian occupation.*
17. Deposition of Athanasius Triandaphyllides, physician of the village of Prosotsani, who remained in that place.
18. Deposition of Athanasius Papaloudis, City Physician of Drama, who stayed in the city.
19. Deposition of N. Dassouka, physician at Drama, who stayed in the city.
20. Deposition of Lambros G. Karamertzanis, druggist at Drama who, remaining in the city, took notes throughout the Bulgarian occupation.
21. List of some girls' names carried off by the Bulgarians, drawn up by the preceding.
22. List of a certain number of inhabitants killed in the school-building at Drama, according to a note of the same.

* All these depositions were duly registered at Cavalla, October 14/27, 15/28 and 16/29, 1918.

23. Deposition of Kiazim Haki, Mufti of Drama.
24. List given by Ibrahim Haki, secretary of the Mussulman community of Drama and containing the names of Mussulmans who died of starvation at Drama, arranged according to the quarters of the city.
25. Deposition of Dem. Athanasiades, one of the most important merchants of Drama, who stayed in the city.
26. Deposition of Taki Stavropoulos, military physician, who was among the first to enter Seres after the liberation of Eastern Macedonia.
27. Deposition of Stavrou, ditch-digger at Drama.
28. Deposition of Pericles Tsintota, cutler, who stayed in the city.
29. Deposition of P. Moulovasilis, physician at Rodolivo, in Panghaion, who stayed in that place.
30. Deposition of K. Kimbaris, one of the chief merchants of Drama, deported as a hostage.
31. Deposition of Theophilus Othonaios.
32. Deposition of D. Vantsi, Mayor of Drama.
33. Deposition of John Theodore Giouventzikis, grocer at Drama, a repatriated hostage.
34. Deposition of Demetrius Christodoulos Demetriades, baker at Drama, a repatriated hostage.
35. Deposition of Spyros Demetriou, of Cavalla, who emigrated and then returned to the town.
36. Deposition of C. Panas, a teacher at Cavalla, a repatriated hostage.
37. Deposition of Pan. Vasilaros, interpreter at the prefecture of Drama, formerly Inspector-General of Secondary Instruction in the prefecture of the Archipelago, a repatriated hostage.
38. Deposition of Eust. Vlysmas, postmaster at Pravi, a repatriated hostage.
39. Deposition of Athan. N. Iltsos, grocer, a repatriated hostage.

40. Deposition of Papademetrius Oekonomou, priest of the Metropole of Drama, a repatriated hostage who gives an account of all the misfortunes endured by the priests and monks deported to Bulgaria.
41. Two photographs of deported men, business men, scientists, students, officials, etc., working on railroad construction.
42. Deposition of Akil Bey, Mayor of Seres, who kept his position for a time, during the Bulgarian occupation.
43. Deposition of John Doumba, City Physician of Seres.
44. Deposition of Mrs. Cleopatra Simou, who remained in Seres.
45. Deposition of Mrs. Amelia Mantzana, who remained in Seres.
46. Deposition of Helen Prokopiou, Fanny Christou and of Dr. Doumba of Seres, as to the murder of Stergios Chr. Sarafi.
47. Deposition of Asterios Yannouras, ex-Treasurer in Chief of the Bank of Athens at Seres.
48. Action of the Municipal Council of Seres, dated April 24.
49. Official list of the deaths recorded at Seres during the months of January, February and March, 1917.
50. Note on the price of food at Seres during the Bulgarian occupation.
51. Deposition of Pericles Hadjitolios, employed in a private house.
52. Deposition of Mrs. Marika Panayotouda, who remained at Seres.
53. Deposition of Sp. Dassios, who has recently been appointed prefect of Seres.*

* These depositions were registered at Drama, October 17/30 and 18/31, and at Seres, October 19/November 1 and October 20/November 2.

We rely also on the testimony of 2nd Lieut. X—, an English aviator (54); of Count Orłowski, a lieutenant in the French army (55); of Dr. Constantinovitch, a Serbian physician; of a Mr. Yovanovitch, a Serbian medical student (56), who were all prisoners captured by the Bulgarians and set free after the armistice; we met them at the house of the Governor-General of Salonika, Mr. G. Adossides, on October 24/November 4, and with their consent have taken note of the testimony that they there gave publicly.

I. The Invasion and the Bulgarian Administration

As is well known, the Bulgarians entered into Eastern Macedonia on August 5/18, 1916, with the consent of the then Greek government; they penetrated the country as though it were a neutral and friendly (?) land; being admitted as guests, so to speak, because of the abnormal nature of the international military situation in Macedonia, they promised to maintain the Hellenic administration intact and guaranteed the security and tranquillity of the inhabitants.

Nevertheless, only a few days after their entry into Greek territory, they gave themselves up to excesses and devastations of every sort (2, 20, 38, 47).

Apparently they did, for some time, and in certain localities, maintain the Greek authorities; but in fact they set to work, whether officially or not, to bring about government by Bulgarian military authorities. The Commandants of the various places were virtually military governors, and acted always arbitrarily and tyrannically. The administration of Eastern Macedonia was entrusted to well-known Comitadjis, upon whom the Bulgarian government had conferred military rank, such as Taska at Seres, Panitsa at Drama, Zissa Ratseff at Cavalla, or to officers that had been corrupted, such as Georgieff and Angeloff at Cavalla, and Captains

Georgieff and Philipoff at Seres. Their administration was one of real brigands and criminals, as the following exposition will prove.

II. Destruction of the Archives and of the Public Offices

The destruction of Greek archives and of public offices, and their devastation, which began on the very first day, are proven by the *procès-verbal* drawn up by the Greek officials of Seres on the 14/27 of November 1916. This document, which has been preserved, is certified by General Taneff himself, Military Inspector of Eastern Macedonia, and by the German Captain von Putkammer. These acts are likewise confirmed by the deposition of Mr. Vlysmas, postmaster at Pravi (38), and by other depositions.

III. Pillaging of Private Houses

From the first day of their invasion, the Bulgarians began to pillage and devastate. This is established by the testimony of some individuals, of advanced age, for the most part, whom we found in Eastern Macedonia and who were not later deported (1, 2, 3, 7, 13, 17, 20, 25, 29, 31, 32). Besides, we became convinced of the facts by ocular evidence, when we visited a large number of the better houses of Cavalla and Seres, which we found deprived of their last piece of furniture. The robbery of the furniture was committed, too, on so large a scale, that the two years of occupation did not suffice for the transportation to Bulgaria of the objects stolen. Thus at Drama they left three large stores full of wardrobes, tables, chairs, mirrors, lamps, sewing-machines and cradles, furniture which came almost entirely from Cavalla, and which, in spite of the well-organized system of transportation of objects captured, which was in use in the Bulgarian army, the invader had not had time to

transport to Bulgaria; he was prevented from doing it by the arrival in an aeroplane of two French officers who speedily put an end to any further transportation of this furniture from Drama. They likewise found at Cavalla, in the stores of the American Gery Company, as well as in the ground floor of the house of C. Loghi, a whole collection of furniture which they had not had time to transport to Bulgaria.

The devastations committed simultaneously and systematically by the Bulgarian troops, from the very first days of the invasion, establish furthermore the accuracy of the testimony of Dr. Djimourtos (9) of Cavalla; the latter affirms the existence of a military order which left the Bulgarian army completely free to sack and seize everything that they wanted. But this task of carrying away was not confined to the first days of the occupation; under divers pretexts it was continued to the very last moment of this barbarous invasion of the Bulgars. Thus, under pretense of requisitioning blankets for the army, they often invaded the houses and carried away, at the same time as the blankets, carpets and in fact everything that they found to their liking. These robberies were committed either officially in the manner that we have just indicated, or by the soldiers as individuals.

In their mania for sacking and destroying everything Greek, the Bulgars did not spare even the cemeteries. One of the members of our Commission, Mr. D. Hondros, with difficulty succeeded in recognizing, in the cemetery of Seres, the tomb of his father, from which they had removed the cross and the enclosing fence; it was the same with the greater part of the graves in the cemetery. The Greek gravestones were transported to Bulgaria, where they were used as flagging in the courtyards (17).

More especially, after having deported the middle-aged people they transferred to other houses the women and children who remained; then not only did they take away everything from the houses, but they destroyed the

very buildings themselves, in order to take everything that they could use either as fuel or as merchandise, such as the doors, the windows, the beams, the tiles, etc. (2, 25). Besides this, they drove away the owners on various pretexts and pillaged the houses (64).

Thus, at Drama, they called the people together one day to receive the Kaiser (testimony of Mrs. Georgiades of Drama). A house was luxuriously furnished for his reception but neither did the Kaiser appear at Drama, where he had only passed through the railroad station, nor did the proprietors ever recover their furniture. High dignitaries and officers set fire to the finest houses in order to conceal the pillage to which they had been subjected. Thus, the Military Governor of Cavalla, Angel-off, pillaged the house of the wealthy doctor George Th. Loghi (7, 13), a veritable palace, and then burned it. Often quarrels and disputes arose among the officers over the division of the booty (7).

It goes without saying that neither money nor receipt was given for what was stolen. As for the animals necessary to till the soil and meet the other needs of the population, they were stolen from the citizens and Greek peasants for the use of the army without their receiving any recompense for them.

These facts and others that we adduce below justify, we think, the terms of the telegram which we recently sent from Salonika, in which we stated that the conduct of the Bulgars had been that of a regularly organized band of brigands.

IV. *Murders and Outrages*

It is even necessary to call them *ferocious* brigands for many of them have neglected no opportunity to satiate their hatred of Hellenism. Beatings and maltreatment were in fact the order of the day, and they were often so cruelly administered as to cause death. Among the number of those who succumbed, we may mention Kotsos

Hadjanestis of Drama, Panag. Matsikas of Ortakioi, N. Michel, baker at Drama and the actor, V. Vasiliades of Athens.

The blows that this latter received caused such wounds that his clothes, according to the druggist Karamertzanis, who gave him first aid, were embedded in them (20). The invader, on the morrow of his arrival, carried away eighteen young men who were butchered in a most cruel manner (17).

We have verified the names of the young men killed in the Greek school at Drama: Christos Zambas, Abraham Chela, Lambros Siapekas, I. Karayannis, Vasili Nikou, Sakis, I. Karageorgis, Nic. Stergios, Alex. Kostis of Prosotsani, K. Koupassos of Vollako, G. Kombokis of Egri-Dere.

All these unfortunates were killed by bayonet thrusts in the school; their corpses were thrown into a pit, well known to the people, situated half a mile from the town. On the door of the school they had written their names, the date of their entry and of their departure, thus forming an inscribed martyrology of victims of Bulgarian brutality. Later, because of the odors arising, disinfectants, purchased from the druggist Karamertzanis for this purpose, were thrown into the pit (20). The complaints and lamentations of our tortured brethren in their place of martyrdom had been so frightful, so terrible, that for a long time afterwards the Greeks avoided passing by the school-building.

At Cavalla they shot Kopteros and Sachinis, both Greeks (testimony of Mehmet Bey, Municipal Councillor of Cavalla). In the village of Prosotsani, near Drama, they seized 268 hostages, of whom they kept the richest, John Karayannis (17), from whom, on various occasions, they extorted the sum of 200,000 francs. He was later imprisoned and put to death in the famous prison—the school of Drama. These facts are established by numerous testimonies and among

others by the written testimony of a victim herself, which was found in her prison.

This prison was directed by the famous Comitadji Panitsas, who was appointed Director of Internal Safety. Whoever entered there might be sure of never coming out alive. The number of victims who died there, after having been tortured, passes fifty. They were buried secretly, during the night (27). Further, in execution of verdicts pronounced by the Council of War, eleven other Greeks were hanged at Drama, on the pretext of espionage, but in reality because they were regarded as ardent patriots.

We have also received confirmation of the death of the Metropolitan of Pravi, who was assassinated not far from that place, not hanged after condemnation by the Council of War at Drama, as the Bulgarian government falsely maintains.

We must also note the murder of Stergios Chr. Sarafis. According to the deposition of a relative of his, Helen Prokopiou, who lives at Seres, this man was found dead, his head in a sack and his body bearing stabs in the chest. His death, which occurred October 16/29, 1916, and the seizure of his wealth, which amounted to 200 or 250 pounds sterling, are confirmed by his sister Fanny Christou, and by the physician of Seres, J. Doumba (43), who performed the autopsy and counted the marks of more than eighteen bayonet thrusts. Further, according to the deposition of Mrs. Amelia Mantzana of Seres, in March, 1918, soldiers forced the door of the house of her uncle, K. Athan. Bouzoukas, 70 years of age (45), and while two of them held him, the others robbed him of his money and clothes. We note also that these barbarians even wished to stab with their bayonets a woman that was pregnant (5); they suspected her of concealing something under her dress. They released her only after they had torn off her clothes and had recognized their error. It is to be noticed

finally that the Monastery of the Virgin Ikossiphinissa, not far from Panghaion, was ravaged completely (20, 29). This monastery was wealthy and possessed many sacred relics of great value, among them a very ancient gospel, written in gold on parchment; today nothing is left but ruins.

V. Robbery and Brigandage by Indirect Means

Apart from these open acts of brigandage, they committed others on a vast scale under various crudely ingenious pretexts.

The guards of those deported exacted and received money for the granting of petty privileges, even when it was a question of the most elementary necessities (39, 51). These sums were much larger for purchasing from the Bulgarian officers exemption or relief from fatigue duty. As Mr. Yannouras, a bank employee, reports, the inhabitants of Seres were divided into four categories, according to their wealth; the absolutely indigent were subjected to forced labor, while the others could get exempted by paying monthly a sum of 25, 50 or 75 drachmas, according to the category in which they were placed.

For the distribution of food in Seres, the inhabitants were likewise divided into three groups. To the third belonged the poor, who received food gratis; to the others belonged the people of means, arranged according to their wealth. But the Bulgarian administration had put into the first class, almost exclusively, only Greeks (53). Numerous cases of extortion of this nature are certified by various depositions of witnesses.

At times under the pretext of philanthropic objects, they exacted contributions which never got out of the pockets of the officers appointed to collect them. Thus the famous Angeloff, Commandant in Cavalla, gathered, in the name of the Mixed Orphan Asylum, established at Cavalla, sums of money that never reached the treasury

of the asylum. They had made him Honorary President of this institution in the vain hope of arousing a benevolent feeling in him for the orphans. But he never helped them in any way. When the ladies, who administered the orphan asylum, complained to him of the lack of food, as a consequence of which many of their wards were dying, Angeloff, who knew Greek, did not hesitate to reply in this language "Let them starve!" (3). At other times they gave so-called "concerts," the purchase of tickets, at the price of a hundred drachmas, being made obligatory. Georgieff, Commandant in Seres, compelled the merchants to exchange lews for drachmas at par; he boasted of having thus gained £100 a day (47). They succeeded also in robbing the Greeks by starting false rumors. For instance, in May, 1918, the Military Governor of Seres let it be known that the city was to be exacuated, and that the inhabitants would have the right to carry away with them only thirty kilograms. The Commissariat, in its turn, proclaimed that what was left would be regarded as *res nullius* and would be confiscated. Profiting by these declarations, numerous Bulgarians, among them a deputy, bought from the Greeks a quantity of stuff at absolutely ridiculous prices (44).

Thus the military authorities readiily put their heads together to exploit most shamelessly the fear that their arbitrary conduct inspired in the inhabitants. And this continued even after the catastrophe to their army, which the Allies inflicted last September. Thus, 2nd Lieutenant Georgieff, the last Commandant in Cavalla, as soon as he learned of the catastrophe and the armistice, of which the inhabitants were still ignorant, caused it to be proclaimed by a crier, carrying a drum, that every Turk or Jew, capable of working, would be obliged to register for employment in the Bulgarian army. This measure permitted Georgieff's band, in the last three days of their stay at Cavalla, to get hold of 800,000 drachmas, which Turks and Jews made haste to give to

the Commandant or his tools, in order to purchase exemption from this enforced labor with which they were threatened.

But the most shameful means employed by the Bulgarian army in order to despoil the inhabitants of Eastern Macedonia and the hostages carried away into Bulgaria, was the exploitation of the "famine régime" which was systematically organized.

Thus, at the very beginning of the occupation, the Bulgarian army requisitioned all the food supplies, both those left by the army and those belonging to individuals (20, 52); they then forbade all communication between the inhabitants of the city and the country-villages where some food might still be found; they instituted committees of food-supply, which distributed provisions in return for money and in hardly sufficient amount, as the druggist G. Karamertzanis says, to keep a bird alive. Even the bread which they distributed was of a lamentably poor quality; adulterated with plaster or cement, it provoked stomach troubles; at best it was mixed with barley, corn and rye. The bread-ration was 30 or 40 grams a day (2, 7, 20, 25, 30, 47).

The expected results were soon obtained: the Bulgarian officers surreptitiously undertook to provision the inhabitants, and the soldiers openly re-sold to them at fabulous prices the food seized or stolen. In the three cities of Cavalla, Drama and Seres, according to information which we have received from different sources, the price of provisions varied within the limits stated below:

Corn	22-23	lews (francs)	an oke (2¾ lbs.)
Flour	30	"	" "
Sugar	80-90	"	" "
Meat	35-40	"	" "
Coffee	300-400	"	" "
Butter	100	"	" "
Salt	20	"	" "
Beans	20	"	" "
Soap	80	"	" "
Tomatoes	16	"	" "
Coal	1-2	"	" "
Cheese	60-70	"	" "

During this time bread was selling in Bulgaria at one lew, or a little later at two lews, at most, per oke. Note, also, that paper money was not taken in payment; that it was necessary to pay in gold or in kind, the rich with their jewels or fine furniture, those less well off, with wood or clothing. There is, then, nothing surprising in the tragic descriptions of misfortune, misery and death occasioned by famine as described in the above depositions. Lambros Karamertzanis, druggist at Drama, declares that "to support, in a very modest way, a family of 5 or 6 persons cost 3,000-4,000 lews a month, while in Bulgaria it cost only 150-200 lews." "There are," this witness adds, "rich people in Drama who have sold their furniture, their kitchen-furnishings and, in the end, their very houses, for fifty or a hundred okes of flour. As to the gypsies of the village, they have all sold their houses for 20 or 30 okes of corn, only to die, later, of starvation." We have beheld with our own eyes the ruin that fell upon the gypsy quarter.

The exploitation of starvation was practiced on a vast scale and in a more shameful way upon the hostages. Often they took away their food, while the rich among them were compelled to pay exorbitant amounts even for water. Of this we shall speak again.

VI. Violation of Women

It is impossible to give any sure statistics as to the outrages on women that were committed by Bulgarian soldiers and in particular by Bulgarian officers. The natural modesty of Greek women who refuse to answer when questioned about such matters, and the austere morals of the country, where even unfortunates who have yielded to violence are looked down upon and despised, renders all control of data impossible. However, from various sources of evidence, such as the testimony of physicians and nurses who cared for the outraged girls

(43, 14), the depositions of some girls and other persons (2, 7), the number of young girls that were met with that were evidently pregnant, the large number of infants abandoned in the churches (25), and, above all, the confidential information furnished by parents or friends of the victims, we are justified in concluding that the raping of women and girls was unfortunately all too common, being traceable to military rakes and debauchees like Angeloff, Georgieff, etc., or, to some other shameful means. The wretches put their victims, usually orphans (14), before the following dilemma: either dishonor, or death by starvation for them, their old mothers and their young sisters. We have learned that the number of those who chose death was considerable,—and we are not surprised; we bow with a feeling of admiration before these heroines who chose starvation and death, and who were far more numerous than the victims who finally were forced to yield.

In addition to all this the Bulgarians in Macedonia did not forget their compatriots at home; they carried away a large number of girls and sent them to Bulgaria (3, 20). According to information furnished to Count Orlowski, a 2nd Lieutenant who was a prisoner of war in Bulgaria, they were turned over to a life of prostitution. Even the Bulgarian press protested (55).

VII. Murders and Acts of Brigandage in the Villages

If such deeds were committed in the cities, we may be sure that the murders and acts of brigandage must have been more frightful yet in the villages, where the comitadjis and inferior officers, exempt from direct control, could give free vent to their savage instincts.

Unfortunately, time and circumstances did not permit us to extend our inquiry into the numerous villages which had to suffer, but what we say is confirmed by information which we have received from a reliable source.

Three divisions, two Turkish and one Bulgarian, the 10th, entered into Drama, and stayed in Macedonia for three months (25). The Turks, accompanied by peasants, their compatriots, entered into the flourishing villages of Panghaion and spread ruin there. They massacred many of the peasants, as is testified by the Mayor of Cavalla, the Mayor of Drama and other officials, and by inhabitants of the country, such as Dr. Paul Moulovasilis, physician at Rodolivo of Panghaion, who passed the night of the 15-16 of September, near the village of Tserepiani, where the massacres that he reports took place.

The villages of Panghaion which had the bitterest experiences were the following; villages, furthermore, that were totally Greek: Rodolivo, Mousteni, Pravi, Semalto, Lakovikia, Kioupkioï, etc. But the same occurrences were repeated in the villages of other districts. Soldiers invaded Efthalia, which is only a half hour distant from Drama; they pillaged the village, after having horribly maltreated the inhabitants and killing a number of them, for example, the wife of the Deputy Mayor Logothetis. Another band of brigands, wearing the Bulgarian uniform, entered Kirtsali and seized the Deputy Mayor of the village, Tsakiris, and two other persons and stripped them of all they had (20).

VIII. The Conduct of the Germans

The Greeks, seeing the Bulgarians indulging in every kind of outrage and crime against the Greek population, and even surpassing their reputation, expected that the Germans would intervene in their favor.

There were, in Eastern Macedonia, very few German officers, some of them aviators and others assigned to special departments. There were some that were charged with the duty of overseeing the Bulgarians and hindering the excesses and cruelties which were to be

expected from them. All conspires to prove that the Germans showed, in this regard, a total and intentional indifference. Their premeditated actions left the Bulgarians under arms complete liberty of action against the Greek population.

The authorities of Seres and Drama, on several occasions, addressed complaints to the German Captain, von Putkammer, who was in the general staff in Drama; the latter appeared at times to give heed to the entreaties of the unfortunates, but without doing anything more; at other times he excused himself, pretending that he had no influence with the Bulgarians (52). One day he even pretended, hypocritically, to manifest a certain scientific interest in a conversation with Dr. Papaloudis, physician at Drama; the latter complained that the Bulgarians had forbidden the doctors ever to attribute a death to inanition. Putkammer advised them to write down the truth; some days afterwards N. Dasoukas, a physician at Drama, was imprisoned for a full five days for having dared to attribute a death to inanition. Furthermore, there were very few cases of German intervention and these were not to the honor of German Kultur. Thus, one of the prominent men of Drama, D. Athanasiades (25), made deposition that German merchants came down to Drama and gathered cotton, copper and gold in return for corn (2 okes of corn for an oke of copper); Prodromos Vasiliou also deposed that he had worked five months at the bridge of Tyrnovo-Semel, under German engineers, who beat even the sick (15).

IX. The Victims of Starvation

One who knows the ferocious character of the Bulgarians as manifested in the past might have expected from them some manifestation of cruelty at this time too. But the old-time cruelties, horrible though they were, pale before the savage plans put in execution so heart-

lessly and brutally by the Bulgarians, in order to destroy the Greek populations of Macedonia by condemning them to the tortures of starvation and exhaustion. We stated that famine entered Macedonia at the heels of the Bulgarian army; organized with a pitiless systematicalness, it caused our brothers to die a martyr's death by tens of thousands.

With tears in our eyes we listened to the heart-rending details told us by the survivors.

At Cavalla and Seres, in particular, and also at Drama people fought to obtain provisions, and the victims of starvation numbered several scores a day; the victims fell right in the street. They went so far as to fight over the garbage. Those who did not succeed in finding bread supported themselves with herbs and roots (16, 38). The cats and the dogs disappeared and served to prolong the life of the starved population for some days (20). In fact, we saw neither dog nor cat in the city of Cavalla. According to the deposition of the physicians, even the dead bodies of animals were devoured (16).

Philanthropic women rescued from the streets of Cavalla four hundred and fifty children, who had neither father nor mother nor any other relative, and who were dying of starvation, and cared for them in the asylum founded for them. The Bulgarians deported 110 of the oldest of these children; 54 of the others survived; but the rest, 286, in spite of all the care of the Greek ladies, died of exhaustion. The dead fell and were buried in masses, without the presence of any priest. The unfortunates were so numerous and so alone in the world that often, at Cavalla, the presence of the corpses was discovered only by the odor that came forth from the houses. Often, so the physicians of Cavalla report, they buried the dead secretly right in the houses, in order to utilize the bread cards to obtain that bread which was distributed parsimoniously and at rare intervals. Sad was the state of those who had neither silver nor jewels, nor

valuables, nor houses to exchange for wheat or barley! The reaper, Death, gathered a large harvest from among the poorer classes, almost the only exceptions being some women or children who, being employed at hard military labor, thus obtained a modicum of bread. In one day alone Dr. Dasoukas listed at Drama seventy-five deaths due to inanition. Out of 55,000 inhabitants, who formed the usual population of Cavalla, ten or twelve thousand perished of starvation and exhaustion, according to the report of Dr. Steph. Tsimourtos. When we visited the city, on the 15/28 of October, 1918, it counted only 3,500 inhabitants, as it proven by the number of bread cards in use.

Seres contained, before the arrival of the Bulgarians, 22,000-24,000 inhabitants, according to the deposition of the mayor, Akil Bey, and the municipal physician, Dr. John Doumba; of these 4,000 died, according to the register preserved in the city hall, the large majority of inanition. Of all this population, formerly prosperous, there was left, at the entry of the Greek troops only 3,500 people, of whom 2,000 had come in from the surrounding villages. Even among these 2,000 there were scarcely 60 males, most of whom were old men.

Professor Pernot consulted the register of deaths at Cavalla and was good enough to give us a note which contains the following facts:*

Mr. Pernot picked out at random the deaths which occurred from the 29th of July to the 30th of August, 1914. These numbered a hundred; he found the word atrophy used only seven times, and always applied to infants of from ten days to two years old. In the period from the 3rd to the 21st of March, 1917, chosen likewise at random, 598 deaths occurred, attributed to the following causes: exhaustion, 295; cachexia, 140; atrophía, 41;

* It will be remembered that, as all the doctors told us, it was forbidden to record inanition as the cause of death. Synonyms such as atrophy, exhaustion, athrepsia, anemia, marasmus and cachexia were therefore substituted.

senile marasmus, 36; anemia, 23; total, 535. The rest of the deaths were attributed to phthisis, to diseases of the liver, or heart, to pneumonia, to enteritis, bronchitis, etc. Thus more than nine-tenths of the deaths were due to starvation. In 1914, from July 29/December 31, there were 454 deaths. In 1915, from January 1/December 31, there were 699 deaths. In 1916, from January 1/August 11, there were 607 deaths.

The Bulgarians entered Cavalla on August 17/20, 1916. In 1917 the mortality in Cavalla, as the registers prove, was as follows: January, 300; February, 412; March, 625; April, 452; May, 203; June, 161; July, 97; August, 197; September, 287; October, 294; November, 288; December, 243; total, 3,519, and these are only the verified deaths, many others as we have seen, having been concealed. We have then 3,519 deaths in 1917, as against 454 in 1914, and 699 in 1915, although the population had in those years been much larger. The figures are so eloquent that they need no commentary.

Drama, at the time of the entry of the Bulgarians, had 18,000 inhabitants. During the Bulgarian occupation, 1,749 Mussulmans died of starvation as is proven by the official register, kept by the secretary of the Mussulman community, Ibrahim Haki. It is to be noted that, according to the testimony of the Mussulman officials, Mehmet Akil Bey, Mayor of Seres and Mehmet Ali Bey, Municipal Councilor of Cavalla, the Mussulmans died of starvation in far smaller numbers than the Greeks, so that the total of deaths in Drama, traceable to starvation, must have been at least three times as large as this figure.

The druggist Karamertzanis, who kept a diary during this troublous time, records 5,000 people as perishing from famine. At this rate the deaths caused by inanition in the three cities of Eastern Macedonia were more than 20,000.

In the town of Pravi (4,000 inhabitants), according to

the notes of Mr. Eust. Vlysmas, superintendent of the post-office, there had died, up to June 22, 1917, 997 persons.

If we reckon at a smaller rate the deaths from starvation in the towns and at a still smaller rate the deaths in the villages, we shall, in estimating the number of those who died from famine in Eastern Macedonia, arrive at a number far surpassing 30,000 and falling little short of 40,000.

X. Emigration into Bulgaria Necessitated by Famine

The abominable method of murder by starvation had a double object: that of destroying the population and that of compelling the agricultural element to emigrate to Bulgaria, departures for which country were in every way facilitated.

A resolution passed by the Municipal Council of Seres affords us a faithful picture of the situation; the Council met under the presidency of the Prefect, Mr. Andreades, on the 24th of April, 1917. The resolution was a reply to an order from the fortress of Seres, commanding the municipality to send to Bulgaria one hundred and fifty families, consisting entirely of farmers.

"The one and only reason for this emigration," so the document states, "is, unfortunately, the famine which is decimating, in a frightful way, all classes of the population of the city. In spite of all the requests made by the municipality and by the Prefect of Seres, to the competent authorities, there is, up to the present at least, no hope of seeing the condition of the population bettered by the arrival of food in any sufficient quantities. Under these conditions the destruction of a neutral, innocent and peaceful population, a unique phenomenon in the history of the world, is slowly but surely being brought about by means of a most terrible dearth of food." This historical document concludes: "Confronted

with this frightful dilemma and not being able, because of the lack of supplies, to do anything to meet the evil, the Municipal Council, feeling that a moral as well as a national wrong has been committed, has resolved, though with inexpressible sorrow, to let the emigration movement have its way." The Municipal Council, at the same time, expressed the hope, a feeble hope to be sure, that the citizens torn away from their native land under such tragic circumstances would be able some time to return to the bosom of their mother-country.

This feeble hope, Mr. Andreades, the mover of this resolution, who has deserved well of our nation, has had the good fortune to see realized. The strength of character of Mr. Andreades, his philanthropic and patriotic activity, during his sojourn at Seres and his exile in Bulgaria, have been, we are everywhere assured, a magnificent example. We have ourselves seen the first families return, as for example at Drama, the family of Spiros Demetriou of Cavalla. Having lost three of his children, who died of starvation, one 15 years old, another 4, and the third an infant of three months, he took refuge in Bulgaria in order to save those who were left (35).

XI. Sufferings of Those Deported into Bulgaria

The persecution was more cruel after Greece had entered into the war. Public employees, priests, teachers, etc., were immediately deported and later this was done with all persons between the ages of 15 and 60 years. In fact, even people of 75 and 80 years old were thus deported. After a toilsome march, made worse by privation, they arrived at Choumala and other places. From there they were dispatched elsewhere. At least 95 per cent among them were subjected to very hard labor, especially to the building of strategic railroads.

This war has afforded spectacles of incredible cruelty, but nothing can be compared to the brutality with which the Bulgarians treated these deported people.

Kitsovo, Karnabat and Kostivar were the burial-places of four-fifths if not more of the Greeks who were deported thither by thousands. They received just enough nourishment to keep them from dying before the end of their labors.

During the first month the hostages that were deported *en masse* lived in the open air. Then they gave them huts which permitted the rain to enter everywhere, or stables without doors or windows (6, 10, 12, 40, 47). Fifty-five or sixty priests found shelter in a single cabin (10). They were waked at 4 o'clock in the morning and at 5 began their hard labor. The sick who were recalcitrant were beaten. These beatings served as a diversion for the butchers. At times they lined the Greeks up and beat them, one after the other, with big clubs or with iron ram-rods. Many died under this treatment. (The names of several of these are given in numbers, 5, 6, 12, 28, 31, 33, 34, 39).

Work ceased at sunset, making thus, in the summer season, sixteen or seventeen hours of work a day (5), but the troublesome vexations did not cease even then. If they left their cabins or the enclosure for any reason whatsoever, they were shot, on the pretext of having made an attempt to escape. Those, too, who, in an attempt to shelter themselves from the rain, took refuge under a tree and especially those who, it was known, had money on their persons were often fired upon. The workmen received 400-800 grams of bread a day and nothing else, except, perhaps, at times some cabbage at the ratio of a cabbage for a hundred men. Their work was done in the midst of torrents of abuse and threats. The guards, in order to add moral torture to the physical sufferings of their victims, constantly reminded them that an early death awaited them. "Everybody to work!" they shouted to the sick, "only the dead have the right to rest." "Do not trouble yourself about these people," said the Chief Engineer Georgieff, to Sarayef, the

Commandant, "they are doomed to death." "We will not butcher you," said another, a Turkish officer, "but we will take all you have and then let you die of starvation." The instructions issued were terribly severe: in the carrying of sand in bags, the rule was laid down, that for every bag lost, four Greeks should be shot (5). The wretch Kolef, a prefect chosen by the Minister Malinof, issued an order one day forbidding the laborers to go more than fifteen paces away from the village, under penalty of death, and added a postscript that the Greeks should not be informed of his order and so take precautions. When, on one occasion, the mayor of Furbeler sent Mr. Yannouras, Chief Accountant of the Bank of Athens at Seres, who was ill, to this same prefect, the prefect beat the soldier, who came as guard, for not having killed him en route; as for Mr. Yannouras, who had a very high fever, he had him put in prison and whipped across the face with twenty-five blows (47). For the deported priests they reserved all the humiliating tasks, such as cleaning out stables and privies.

Even the very old men were compelled to work as, for instance, the confessor Polycarpus, who was eighty years old. Nothing illustrates better the monstrous barbarity of the Bulgars than the following episode. Near Kitsevo, a temporary Greek hospital, covered with thatch, took fire; the patients who numbered fourteen or fifteen, not being able to get up were burned to death, while the Bulgarians, who were not far away, hindered the Greeks from going to the rescue and laughed at the spectacle.

This existence of privation and maltreatment amply explains the ravages that death made among the wretched workers, among whose ranks were scholars, merchants and artisans, as is shown by the photographs. We are not surprised that these ravages were worse than those of the most serious epidemics. The figures prove only too well how efficacious was the process of annihilation that they had hit upon. Out of 450 persons at Chatalja in

Eastern Macedonia, forming the group to which Mr. P. Sinokas belonged, only 48 survived. Of 4,860 who were working at Karnabat, according to the engineer Mr. Stylianos, the survivors numbered 840 in all. Only 24 were left out of 400 in the group of which Mr. Ath. Iltsos was one. Out of 6,000 hostages deported to Kostivar, the 3,000 who were kept there up to the end nearly all died, and of the three thousand transported elsewhere only 840 were left according to the testimony of the prefect, Mr. Bakopoulos. Of 18,000 persons deported (testimony of Mr. Othonaios, employee) 1,200 remained living, there being left in his own group 300 out of 1,400.

XII. The Return

The martyrdom of the survivors did not cease with the signing of the armistice and the permission to return to their homes. It was necessary to march ceaselessly for several days and nights with ten minutes of rest every two hours and three hours of sleep. Of bread there was none after the second day. In its place prunes, wild pears and herbs were eaten. It rained and the exiles lacked clothes and hats. Death reaped a new harvest from among the hostages whose physical strength had become exhausted (6, 28, 34, 49).

Even in these last hours the Bulgarian population did not hesitate to take from these poor unfortunates their last few pennies. Others were compelled to buy food at fabulous prices and to pay their railroad fare. We have actually seen the tickets, deposited at Seres. The most frightful scene of this final drama was the robbery and murder of the stragglers. Unable to keep up the pace, and left behind in isolation, many of them fell a prey to the soldiers who massacred them in masses just to rob them. One of the hostages, Mr. P. Tsintotas, reports that he counted on the road thirty-five corpses

of people slain with the bayonet. Among them was the engineer, Mr. P. Simeonidis; he had paid the subaltern who commanded the column for granting him permission to stay behind, his strength being utterly exhausted. A soldier killed him in order to get his clothes and his watch. A large number of Greeks, who have returned, witnessed murders of this sort (34, 39). The death of Simeonidis was confirmed by several persons, among them being the English officer X—— (54), who also heard it said that several other Greeks were murdered on their way home.

MR. PRESIDENT:

When our university, at the first rumors of Bulgarian atrocities, raised cries of horror and protested to the universities of Western Europe and America, we could not conceive that the calamity which had burst upon Eastern Macedonia was as vast and irreparable as the frightful details which are arriving every day would indicate. Nothing can ever give back to us our brothers, who, to the number of at least 70,000, have succumbed to the savagery and ferocity of a barbarous people.

Nothing can console the old men and orphans whose children and parents have been assassinated by the Bulgarians, with the object of uprooting the Hellenic soul from a territory which, during centuries of martyrdom and persecution, it has always through its intellectual superiority maintained as a Greek land, even when Greece itself was in slavery.

But justice is awake. The Greek army and our powerful allies have saved Greek soil once more from its savage invader. The great international tribunal which is to establish a real and definite liberty and assure peace and independence to the small states, will punish, we are absolutely certain, these barbarous assassins, whose

audacity and insatiate greed have made them so dangerous to their neighbors and the peace of the world.

It is from now on impossible for Greeks to live under the Bulgarian yoke, for it is the chief aim of the Bulgarians to annihilate Greeks, Serbs, and in fact all their neighbors.

Our voice is, to be sure, feeble; but strengthened by that of our colleagues, professors in the faculties of liberty-loving lands, who, under the inspiration of the same noble ideals, will rise as defenders of the cause of persecuted Hellenism, it will, we hope, have sufficient power and weight to make itself heard by the tribunal of the great nations.

Athens, October 30/November 12, 1918.

The Commission:

G. SOTERIADES
TH. PETIMEZAS

C. ZENGELIS
D. HONDROS

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

The American-Hellenic Society is organized for the general purpose of extending and encouraging among the citizens of the United States of America an interest in the cultural and political relations between the United States and Greece; and in particular to promote educational relationships, including the establishment of exchange professorships in the Universities of the United States and Greece, as a means to diffuse knowledge of the literature and political institutions of the United States throughout Greece, and to encourage in America the study of the ancient and modern Hellenic language and literature; and further to defend the just claims of Greece in particular and of Hellenism in general.

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